cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 352
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served 242
accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [243]
zulabia, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [353].
and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234]
brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, _dasing_, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favoured in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavoured with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shirni sarap, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limun dusi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of malarial fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowandus she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowandus provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and "mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly discussed in two ways, through the blood (xwng) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation.

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowandux. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, dirag, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is sub-
sidized with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The *unadorned urban environment*. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the unadorned urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 44. Ordinary peasant environment. Balakja.
Fig. 45. Unadorned urban environment. Sulaimani.

In order to nurse the baby, the mother squats down, tips the cradle end, with one arm on the carrying pole, pushes the curtain aside.

Supplementary to the cradle type whose urine tube makes the use of nappies, and all the washing that goes with them, unnecessary, there was a night-commode in the form of a small arm chair in which even an infant can be placed in a semi-lying position in order to have its bowels moved. The night-commode has a hole in the seat around which there is a ring of padded cloth with a flounce. A container is placed under the seat. This seat has a cushion for the back so that the child more less than sits, comfortable and secure.

Instead of two smaller holes in the bottom that allow the head of the bed to be turned, the cradle may have one larger hole, corresponding to a bigger hole in the mattress, a little below the centre of the wooden bottom. In this a clay vessel (E. 2313a), 0.126 m. high, diam. about 0.10 m., similar in shape to a flower pot, is lowered. The urine tube, *Alia*, (E. 2313b) 0.17 m. long, is of bamboo, with a longish opening in the side near the one end, thus intended for a girl, is planted in the clay vessel. I

Fig. 86. Clay vessel (E. 2313a) with urine pipe of bamboo (E. 2313b) for a girl. Bekhir. Wooden pipes, for boy (E. 2314) and for girl (E. 2315). Sulaimani.

to its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Quran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reasons for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[1].

An Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 13 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[2]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiz*. Muhammad, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Quran that male children are more desirable than female[3]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to